

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE

7 August 1961

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: The Nonaligned Nations Conference

1. Background: The idea of holding a conference of the heads-of-state of "nonaligned" nations developed out of the round of visits last spring between Tito, Nasir, and Sukarno, with the major initiatives coming from the first two. Tito and Nasir share the view that as heads of small states with little influence by themselves but with pretensions to broader leadership the best means to advance their interests is to create a bloc of states which agree on general foreign policy and which might be brought to express their policy views collectively.

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2. The Cairo Preparatory Conference: India, whose attendance was most important to the sponsors, agreed to come despite Nehru's fear that the meeting would only point up differences among the attending states rather than helping

to ease world tensions. The other Asians invited--Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan--came as full participants. From Latin America, only Cuba participated fully; Brazil sent an observer and Venezuela and Mexico declined. Africa was represented by the UAR's fellow radicals--Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Morocco--as well as the more moderate Sudan, Ethiopia, and the Somali Republic. Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen came as uncommitted Arabs.

3. The Cairo meeting, attended by ambassadors or special representatives, lasted from 5 to 13 June, and decided that the full conference should open on 1 September in Yugoslavia. Nine days--four more than expected--were necessary to get past the acrimonious debate over the criteria of nonalignment and over which additional states should be added to the Cairo meeting and/or invited to the full conference.* The rebel Algerian Provisional Government was added at Cairo, but a proposal--strongly backed by Ghana--to invite a Gizenga delegate was shelved.

*The meeting agreed that a nonaligned state should (1) have an independent policy based on nonalignment, (2) be active in struggling for independence of other countries, (3) not belong to multilateral, bilateral, or regional defense pacts in the context of the cold war or have military base agreements concluded in that context.

4. A special "invitation committee" continued work in Cairo until 5 July, finally deciding to invite Lebanon, Bolivia, Ecuador, Togo, Upper Volta, Nigeria, Mexico, and Brazil, in addition to the Cairo participants. The committee's work was prolonged by a clash between those--led by India--who wished to enlarge the Belgrade conference by inviting a greater number of moderate neutrals, and those--led by Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali--who wished to limit sharply the number attending.

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5. Prospects for the September Conference:

6. Although no formal agenda has yet been announced, the Yugoslavs have indicated they especially expect disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism, Berlin, and the reorganization of the UN to be discussed at the Belgrade conference. On all but the last subject, Yugoslavia and the radical neutrals are more sympathetic to Soviet positions than to those of the West. They also agree that the UN should be reorganized to give them

greater representation in its leading bodies, but they do not want this done in any way that would weaken the organization's effectiveness.

7. Tito plans to address the conference on, among other subjects, Europe and Germany; he believes his views will be accorded special authority because Yugoslavia will be the only European state in attendance. Although Belgrade has indicated a desire to hear US views on these subjects, it is committed to recognition of two German states and holds that the East-West negotiations which must be held should start from the status quo and not from the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Tito may also propose establishment of a neutral zone in Central Europe.

8. Nasir has been noncommittal on the German problem, although a recent editorial in the UAR official press stated that the solution lies simply in allowing the Germans the right of self-determination and reunification. Lebanon has offered to sustain Western views on Berlin and Germany at Belgrade.

9. The Casablanca Powers (the UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Morocco) and the Provisional Algerian Government have scheduled a meeting in Cairo on 25 August at Mali's initiative. They presumably will attempt to arrive at common positions before attending the Belgrade conference.

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10. The Chinese Communists look askance at the forthcoming conference because they fear it will result in the coalescing of a predominantly Afro-Asian grouping from which they would be excluded. Peiping preferred another Bandung meeting under Indonesian President Sukarno's aegis and is still encouraging him to call one.

11. The USSR, originally displeased by the prospect of a neutralist summit conference in Belgrade, is now attempting to win, through the Yugoslavs, neutralist support for some of its foreign policies. This desire to influence the conference apparently accounted for the Kremlin's revival of a dormant plan for an exchange of visits by the Yugoslav and Soviet foreign ministers.

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